A SPEECH DELIVERED IN PARLIAMENT,

BY

A worthy MEMBER thereof,

AND

A moſt faithfull VVell-wiſher to the CHURCH and COMMON-WEALE;

Concerning the grievances of the Kingdome.

By *I. P.* Eſquire.

LONDON,
Printed for *R. Lownes*, at his ſhop without *Ludgate*, 1642.

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NEver Parliament had greater businesses to dispatch, nor more difficulties to encounter, therefore wee have reason to take all advantages of order and addresse, and hereby we shall not only doe our owne worke, but dispose and inable our selves for the better satisfaction of

The precedent consideration of grievances will further the supply

of his Majesties desire of supply. The grievances being removed, our affections will carry us with speede and chearefulnesse, to give his Majestie that which may bee sufficient both for his honour and support. Those that in first place shall endeavour to redresse the grievances, will be found not to hinder, but to bee the best furtherers of his Majesties service: hee that takes away weights, doth as much advantage motion, as he that addeth wings.

Great worke, are first to bee considered in the modell.

Divers pieces of this maine worke have beene already propounded, his endeavour should be to present to the House a modell of the whole. In the Creation God made the world according to that *Idea* or forme, which was eternally preexistent in the divine minde. *Moses* was commanded to frame the Tabernacle after the patterne shewed him in the Mount. Those actions are seldome well perfected in the execution, which are not first well moulded in the designe, and proposition.

A double method *compounded* of grievances and cures.

He said, he would labour to contract those manifold affaires both of the Church and State, which did so earnestly require the wisedome and faithfulnesse of this House, into a double method of grievances and cures: and because there wanted not some who pretended, that these things wherewith the Common-wealth is now grieved, are much for the advantage of the King, and that the redresse of them will be to his Majesties great disadvantage and losse (here he said) he doubted not but to make it appeare, that in discovering the present great distempers and disorders, and procuring remedie for them, we should bee no lesse serviceable to his Majestie, who hath summoned us to this great Councell, than usefull to those whom we doe here represent: for the better effecting

Publike grievances disadvantagious to the King.

whereof

whereof, he propounded three maine heads of his discourse.

The first generall division.

In the first (he said) he would offer them the severall heads of some principall grievances, under which the Kingdome groaned. 1.

In the second, he undertook to prove, that the disorders from whence those grievances issued, were as hurtfull to the King, as to the people. 2.

In the third, he would advise such a way of healing and removing those grievances, as might bee equally effectuall to maintaine the honour and greatnesse of the King, and to procure the prosperitie and contentment of the people. 3.

In the handling whereof he promised to use such expressions, as might mitigate the sharpnesse and bitternesse of those things whereof hee was to speake, so farre as his dutie and faithfulnesse would allow. It is a great Prerogative to the King, and a great honour attributed to him, in a Maxime of our Law, that he can doe no wrong, he is the fountaine of Iustice: and if there be any injustice in the execution of his Commands, the Law casts it upon the Ministers, and frees the King. Activitie, life, and vigour, are conveyed into the sublunary creatures, by the influence of Heaven: but the malignitie and distemper, the cause of so many Epidemicall diseases, doe proceed from the noysome vapours of the earth, or some ill affected qualities of the aire, without any infection or alteration of those pure, celestiall and incorruptible bodies. In the like manner (he said) the authoritie, the power and countenance of Princes may concur in the actions of evill men, without partaking in the injustice and obliquitie of them. These matters whereof we complaine, have beene presented to his Ma-

Sharpe matters to be mitigated in the expression.

The King can do no wrong.

Majestie, either under the pretence of Royall prerogatives, which he is bound to maintaine, or of publike good, which is the most honourable object of Kingly wisdome: But the covetous and ambitious designes of others, have interposed betwixt his Royall intentions, and the happinesse of his people, making those things pernicious and hurtfull, which his Majestie apprehended as just, and profitable.

Hurtfull projects presented to the King under plausible notions.

He said, the things which he was to propound, were of a various nature, many of them such as required a very tender and exquisite consideration. In handling of which, as he would be bold to use the liberty of the place and relation wherein he stood, so he would be carefull to expresse that Modestie and humilitie, which might be expected by those, of whose actions he was to speake. And if his judgement, or his tongue should slip into any particular mistake, he would not thinke it so great a shame, to faile by his owne weaknesse, as hee should esteeme it an honour and advantage, to be corrected by the wisdome of that House, to which he submitted himself, with this protestation, that he desired no reformation so much as to reforme himselfe.

A promise of moderation.

Submission to reformation.

The greatest libertie of the Kingdome, is Religion; thereby we are freed from spirituall evils: and no impositions are so grievous, as those that are laid upon the soules. The next great liberrie is Justice, whereby we are preserved from injuries in our persons, and estates, from this is derived into the Commonwealth, peace, and order, and safetie, and when this is interrupted, confusion and danger are ready to overwhelme all. The third great libertie consists in the power and priviledge of Parliaments, this is the fountaine of law, the great Councell of the King-

Religion.

Justice.

Priviledge of Parliament.

Kingdome, the higheſt Court: this is inabled by the Legiſlative and Conſiliarie power, to prevent evils to come, by the Judiciarie power, to ſuppreſſe and remove evils preſent. If you conſider theſe three great liberties in the order of dignitie, this laſt is inferiour to the other two, as Meanes are inferiour to the end; but if you conſider them in the order of neceſſitie, and uſe, this may juſtly claime the firſt place, in our care, becauſe the end cannot be obtained without the meanes: if we doe not preſerve this, we cannot long hope to enjoy either of the other. Therefore (hee ſaid) being to ſpeake of thoſe grievances which lie upon the Kingdome, hee would obſerve this order.

The order propounded in handling theſe 3 great liberties.

1. Firſt to mention thoſe, which were againſt the priviledge of Parliaments.

2. Thoſe which were prejudiciall to the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Kingdome.

3. Thoſe which did interrupt the juſtice of the Realme, in the liberrie of our perſons, and propriety of our eſtates.

The priviledges of Parliament were not given for the ornament or advantage of thoſe, who are the members of Parliament, they have a reall uſe and efficacie, towards that which is the end of Parliaments: we are free from ſuits, that we may the more intirely addict our ſelves, to the publike ſervices: we have therefore libertie of ſpeech, that our Counſels may not be corrupted with feare, or our judgements perverted with ſelfe reſpects; thoſe three great facultics and functions of Parliament, the Legiſlative, Iudiciarie, and Conſiliarie power, can not bee well exerciſed without ſuch priviledges as theſe. The wiſedome of our Lawes, the faithfullneſſe of our

The neceſſitie and importance of the priviledge of Parliament.

Counsels, the righteousnesse of our Iudgements can hardly be kept pure and untainted, if they proceed from distracted and restrained mindes.

It is a good Rule of the Morall Philosopher, *Et non ladas mentem gubernatricem omnium actionum*: These powers of Parliament are to the bodie politike as the rationall faculties of the soule, to a man. That which keepes all the parts of the Commonwealth in frame, and temper, ought to be most carefully preserved in that freedome, vigour, and activitie, which belongs to it self. Our predecessors in this house, have ever been most carefull in the first place, to settle and secure their priviledges: and (he said) he hoped that we having had greater breaches made upon us than heretofore, would be no lesse tender of them, and forward in seeking reparation for that which is past, and prevention of the like for the time to come.

Particular breaches of Priviledge.

Then hee propounded divers particular points wherein the Priviledge of Parliament had beene broken.

1 Restraint of speech.

First, in restraining the members of the House from speaking.

2 Interdict of questions.

Secondly, in forbidding the Speaker to put any Question.

These two were practised the last day of the last Parliament (and, as was alledged, by his Majesties command) and both of them trench upon the very life and being of Parliaments, for if such a restraining power as this should take root, and bee admitted, it will be impossible for us to bring any resolution to perfection in such matters as shall displease those about the King.

Imprisonment of Members.

Thirdly, by imprisoning divers Members of the

the House for matters done in Parliament.

Fourthly, by indictments, informations, and judgments in ordinarie and inferiour Courts, for speeches and proceedings in Parliaments. Iudiciall proceedings.

Fifthly, the disgracefull order of the Kings Bench, whereby some members of this House were injoyned to put in securitie of the good behaviour, and for refusall thereof, they were continued in prison, divers yeares, without any particular allegation against them: one of them was freed by death, others not dismissed till his Majestie had declared his intention, to summon this Parliament. And this he noted, not only as a breach of priviledge, but as a violation of the common justice of the Kingdome. Order to bee bound to the good behaviour.

Sixthly, by the sudden and abrupt dissolution of Parliaments, contrary to the law and custome. It hath beene often declared in Parliaments, that the Parliament should not be dissolved, till the petitions be answered. This (he said) was a great grievance because it doth prevent the redresse of other grievances. Abrupt dissolutions of Parliament.

It were a hard Case, that a private man should bee put to death without being heard: As this representative body of the Commons, receives a being by the summons, so it receives a Civill death by the dissolution. Is it not a much more heavie doome, by which wee lose our being, and have this civill death inflicted on us, in displeasure, and not to be allowed time and libertie to answer for our selves? that we should not only die, but have this marke of infamy laid upon us, to bee made *Intestabiles*, disabled to make our Wills, to dispose of our businesse, as this House hath alwayes used to doe, before Ad-

journaments or diſſolutions? yet this hath often beene our caſe; we have not beene permitted to powre out our laſt ſighes and groanes, into the boſome of our deare Soveraigne; the words of dying men are full of piercing affections: if we might be heard to ſpeake, no doubt wee ſhould ſo fully expreſſe our love, and faithfulneſſe to our Prince, as might take off the falſe ſuggeſtions and aſperſions of others: at leaſt we ſhould in our humble ſupplications, recommend ſome ſuch things to him in the name of his people, as would make for his owne honour, and the publike good of his Kingdome.

Grievances concerning religion.

Thus hee concluded the firſt ſort of grievances, being ſuch as were againſt the priviledge of Parliament, and paſſed on to the next, concerning Religion: all which hee conveyed under theſe foure heads.

Incouragemẽt of poperie.

1 The firſt, was the great incouragement given to poperie, of which he produced theſe particular evidences.

Suſpenſion of Lawes.

1 A ſuſpenſion of all Lawes againſt Papiſts, whereby they enjoy a free, and almoſt publike exerciſe of that Religion, and thoſe good Statutes which were made for reſtraint of Idolatrie, and ſuperſtition, are now a ground of ſecuritie to them, in the practice of both, being uſed to no other end, but to get money into the Kings purſe: which as it is clearely againſt the intentions of the Law, ſo it is full of miſchiefe to the kingdome.

By this meanes a dangerous partie is cheriſhed, and increaſed, who are ready to cloſe with any opportunitie of diſturbing the peace and ſafetie of the State. Yet (hee ſaid) hee did not deſire any new

Laws

Lawes againſt poperie, or any rigorous courſes in the execution of thoſe alreadie in force; hee was farre from ſeeking the ruine of their perſons or eſtates, onely hee wiſht they might bee kept in ſuch a condition, as ſhould reſtraine them from doing hurt.

It may bee objected, there are moderate and diſcreet men amongſt them, men of eſtates, ſuch as have an intereſt in the peace and proſperitie of the Kingdome, as well as wee. Theſe (hee ſaid) were not to bee conſidered according to their owne diſpoſition, but according to the nature of the body, whereof they are parties. The Planets have ſeverall and particular motions of their owne, yet they are all rapt and tranſported into a contrarie courſe, by the ſuperiour Orbe which comprehends them all. The principles of Poperie are ſuch, as are incompatible with any other Religion: there may bee a ſuſpenſion of violence, for ſome by reſpects, but the ultimate end, even of that moderation, is, that they may with more advantage extirpate that which is oppoſite to them. Lawes will not reſtraine them, Oathes will not, the Pope can diſpence with both theſe, and where there is occaſion, his command will act them, to the diſturbance of the Realme, againſt their owne private diſpoſition, yea, againſt their owne reaſon and judgement to obey him, to whome they have (eſpecially the Ieſuiticall partie) abſolutely and intirely obliged themſelves, not onely in ſpirituall matters, but in temporall, as they are in order *ad Spiritualia*. *Henry* the third, and *Henry* the fourth of *France*, were no Proteſtants themſelves, yet were murthered, becauſe they

There can bee no ſecuritie from papiſts.

but

In their diſabilitie.

tolerated the protestants, by which and many o-ther presidents it appeares, that the King, that the Kingdome can have no securitie but in their weaknes and disabilitie to doe hurt.

Admission into places of power.

2 A second incouragement is, their admission into places of power and trust in the Common wealth, whereby they get many dependants and adherents, not only of their owne, but even of such as make profession to be protestants.

Free resort to London and the Court.

3 A third, their freedome of resorting to *London*, and the Court, whereby they have opportunitie, not only of Communicating their Counsels, and designes one to another, but of diving into his Majesties Counsels, by the frequent accesse of those who are active men amongst them, to the tables and company of great men, and under subtile pretences and disguises, they want not meanes of cherishing their owne projects, and of indeavouring to mould and biasse the publike affaires to the great advantage of that partie.

4 A fourth, that as they have a congregation of Cardinals at *Rome*, to consider of the aptest wayes and meanes of establishing the Popes authoritie and Religion in *England*. so they have a Nuncio here, to act and dispose that partie to the execution of those counsels, and by the assistance of such cunning and Iesuiticall spirits as swarme in this town, to order and mannage all actions, and events, to the furtherance of that maine end.

Innovations in matters of Religion.

2 The second grievance in Religion, was from those manifold innovations lately introduced into severall parts of the Kingdome, all inclining to poperie, and disposing and fitting men to entertaine it: the particulars are these.

1. Di-

1 Divers of the chiefeſt points of Religion in difference betwixt us and the papiſts have beene publikely defended in licenſed Bookes, in Sermons, in Vniverſitie acts and diſputations. Maintainance of popiſh tenets.

2 Divers popiſh Ceremonies have beene not only practiſed, but countenanced, yea little leſſe than injoyned, as Altars, Images, Crucifixes, bowings, and other geſtures and obſervances, which put upon our Churches a ſhape and face of poperie. Hee compared this to the drie bones in *Ezekiel*, firſt they came together, then the ſinewes and the fleſh came upon them, after this the skin covered them, and then breath and life was put into them: ſo (he ſaid) after theſe men had moulded us into an outward forme and viſage of poperie, they would more boldly endeavour to breath into us the ſpirit and life of poperie. Practice of popiſh ceremonies.

3 The third grievance, was the countenancing and preferring thoſe men, who were moſt forward in ſetting up ſuch Innovations, the particulars were ſo well knowne, that they needed not to be named. Preferment of men popiſhly inclined.

4 The fourth was, the diſcouragement of thoſe who were knowne to bee moſt conſcionable, and faithfull profeſſors of the truth: ſome of the wayes of effecting this, he obſerved to be theſe. Diſcouragement of true profeſſors.

1 The courſes taken to inforce and inlarge thoſe unhappy differences, for matters of ſmall moment, which have beene amongſt our ſelves, and to raiſe up new occaſions of further diviſion, whereby many have beene induced to forſake the land, not ſeeing the end of thoſe voluntarie and humane Injunctions in things appertaining to Gods worſhip: whereas thoſe who are indeed lovers of Religion, and of the Churches of God, would ſeeke to make up thoſe breaches Inlargement of the differences among our ſelves.

breaches, and to unite us more entirely against the common enemie.

Over-rigid prosecution of the scrupulous for things indifferent.

2 The over rigid prosecution of those who are scrupulous in using some things enjoyned, which are held by those who enjoyn them, to be in themselvs indifferent. It hath beene ever the desire of this House, expreſt in many Parliaments in Queene *Elizabeths* time and since, that such might bee tenderly used. It was one of our petitions delivered at *Oxford* to his Majestie that now is: but what little moderation it hath produced, is not unknowne to us all, any other vice almost may be better indured in a Minister than Inconformitie.

Vnjust punishments for matters not by law.

3 The unjust punishments, and vexations of sundry persons for matters required, without any warrant of Law: as

Reading the booke.

For not reading the booke concerning recreation on the Lords day.

The Table set Altarwise.

For not removing the Communion Table to bee set Altarwise at the East end of the Chancell.

Comming to the Railes.

For not comming up to the Railes to receive the Sacrament.

Preaching upon the Lords day.

For preaching the Lords day in the afternoone.

Varying from the catechism

For catechising in any other words and manner than in the precise words of the short catechisme in the Common prayer booke.

Abuse of Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction.

The fifth and last grievance concerning Religion, was the incroachment and abuse of Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction: the particulars mentioned are these.

In fining and imprisoning.

1 Fining and imprisoning in cases not allowed by law.

Claiming jurisdiction to be *Jure Divino*.

2 Their challenging their jurisdiction to be appropriate to their order, which they alledge to be *Jure Divino*.

3 The

3 The contriving and publiſhing of new articles, upon which they inforce the Churchwardens to take oathes, and to make inquiries and preſentments, as if ſuch articles had the force of Canons: and this, he ſaid, was an effect of great preſumption and boldneſſe, not onely in the Biſhops, but in their Archdeacons, Officials, and Chancellours, taking upon themſelves a kinde of Synodall authoritie: and the Injunctions of this kinde, might well partake in name with that part of the common law, which is called the Extravagants. Articles of the viſitations.

Having diſpatcht theſe ſeverall points, hee proceeded to the third kinde of grievances, being ſuch as are againſt the common juſtice of the Realm, in the libertie of our perſons, and proprietie of our eſtates, of which (he ſaid) he had many to propound: In doing whereof, hee would rather obſerve the order of time, wherin they were acted, than of conſequence: but when hee ſhould come to the cure, hee ſhould then perſwade the Houſe to begin with thoſe, who were of moſt importance, as being now in execution, and very much preſſing and exhauſting the Common wealth. Grievances concerning the libertie of perſons and eſtates.

He began with the Tonnage and Poundage, and other impoſitions not warranted by law: and becauſe theſe burdens had long lyen upon us, and the principles which produced them, are the ſame from whence divers others are derived, hee thought it neceſſary to premiſe a ſhort narrative, and relation of the grounds and proceedings of the power of impoſing herein practiſed. It was (hee ſaid) a fundamental truth eſſential to the conſtitution and government of this Kingdom, an hereditarie liberty and priviledge of al the free born ſubjects of the land, that no tax, tal- Tonnage and Poundage impoſitions. Not to be taken but by conſent in parliament.

Acknowledged by the Conquerour.

or other charge might be laid upon us, without common consent in Parliament, this was acknowledged by the Conquerour, ratified in that contract which he made with this Nation, upon his admittance to the Kingdome, declared and confirmed in the lawes which he publiſhed.

Sometimes broken by other Kings, but never denyed.

This hath never beene denyed to any of our Kings, though broken and interrupted by ſome of them, eſpecially by King *Iohn*, and *Hen. 3.* then againe confirmed by *Mag. Chart.* and other ſucceeding lawes: yet not ſo well ſetled, but that it was ſometime attempted by the two ſucceeding *Edwards*, in whoſe times the ſubjects were very ſenſible of all the breaches made upon the common libertie, and by the opportunitie of frequent Parliaments, purſued them with freſh complaints, and for the moſt part, found redreſſe, and procured the right of the ſubject to bee fortified by new Statutes.

Thoſe breaches repaired by ſucceeding Parliaments.

Some mixture of evidence for the ſubject in theſe very breaches.

He obſerved, that thoſe Kings, even in the Acts whereby they did breake the law, did really affirme the ſubjects libertie, and diſclaim that right of impoſing, which is now challenged, for they did uſually procure the Merchants conſent, to ſuch taxes as were laid, thereby to put a colour of juſtice upon their proceeding, and ordinarily they were limited to a ſhort time, and then propounded to the ratification of the Parliament, where they were cancell'd or confirmed, as the neceſſity and ſtate of the Kingdom did require.

The grant by parliament moſt uſuall.

But for the moſt part, ſuch charges upon merchandize, were taken by authoritie of Parliament, and granted for ſome ſhort time, in a greater or leſſer proportion, as was requiſite for ſupply of the publike occaſions, ſix or twelve in the pound, for one, two, or three yeares, as they ſaw cauſe, to bee imployed for

the

the defence of the Sea, and it was acknowledged so clearely to be in the power of Parliament, that they have sometimes beene granted to Noble men, sometimes to Merchants to, bee disposed for that use. Afterward they were granted to the King for life, and so continued for divers descents, yet still as a gift and grant of the Commons.

At first variously limited, in respect of time and persons. Afterwards, Confirmed to the King for life.

Betwixt the time of *Edward* the third, and Queene *Mary*, never Prince (that he could remember) offered to demand any imposition, but by grant in Parliament: Queene *Mary* laid a charge upon cloth, by the equitie of the Statute of Tunnage and Poundage, becaus the rate set upon wooll was much more than upon cloth: and there being little wooll carried out of the Kingdom unwrought, the Q. thought she had reason to lay somewhat more, yet not full so much, as brought them to an equalitie, but that still there continued a lesse charge upon wooll wrought into cloth, than upon wooll carried out unwrought; untill King *James*s time, when upon *Nicholsons* project, there was a further addition of charge, but still upon pretence of the Statute, which is that we call the pretermitted custome.

No contrary practice betweene Edw. 3 and Q. Mary.

Pretended equitie for the Custome upon cloth.

The grounds of the pretermitted Custome.

In Queene *Elizabeths* time, one or two little impositions crept in, the generall prosperitie of her raigne overshadowing small errours and innovations: one of these was upon Currants, by occasion of the Merchants complaints that the *Venetians* had laid a charg upon the English cloth, that so we might bee even with them, and force them the sooner to take it off: this being demanded by King *James*, was denyed by one *Bates* a Merchant, and upon a suite in the Exchequer, was adjudged for the King.

Bates Case.

The manner of which judgement was thus: There

The judgment therein for the King.

were then but three Iudges, in that Court, all differing from one another in the grounds of their sentences. The first was of opinion, the King might impose upon such commodities as were forraign, and superfluous, as Currants were, but not upon such as were native, and to bee transported, or necessarie, and to bee imported for the use of the kingdome. The second Iudge was of opinion, he might impose upon all forraign Merchandise, whether superfluous or, no, but not upon native. The third, that for as much as the King had the custodie of the Ports, and the guard of the Seas, and that hee might open and shut up the ports as he pleased, hee had a prerogative to impose upon all Merchandise, both exported and imported.

Resulting from different opinions of the Iudges.

This single, distracted and divided judgement, is the foundation of all the impositions now in practice: for after this, King *Iames* laid new charges upon all commodities outward and inward, not limited to a certaine time, and occasion, but reserved to himselfe, his heires and successors for ever: The first, impositions in fee simple, that were ever heard of in this Kingdome. This judgement, and the right of imposing thereupon assumed was questioned in *septimo & duodecimo* of that King, and was the cause of the breach of both those Parliaments. In 18. and 21. *Iacobi*, it was declined by this House, that they might preserve the favour of the King, for the dispatch of some other great businesses, upon which they were more especially attentive.

The only foundation of the power of imposing.

followed with complaints,

and

preserved by breaches of Parliaments.

In 1. of his Majestie, It necessarily came to be remembred, upon the proposition on the Kings part, for renewing the bill of Tonnage and Poundage, but so moderate was that Parliament, that they thought rather to confirme the impositions already set by a

The redresse desired without diminution of the K. profit.

law

Law to be made, than to abolish them by a judgement in Parliament, but that and divers insuing Parliaments have beene unhappilie broken, before that endeavour could bee accomplished, only at the last meeting, a Remonstrance was made concerning the libertie of the Subject, in this point, and it hath alwayes beene expresst to bee the meaning of the House, and so it was (as hee said) his owne meaning in the proposition now made, to settle and restore the right according to law, and not to diminish the kings profit, but to establish it by a free grant in Parliament.

Since the breach of the last Parliament his Majestie hath by a new book of Rates very much increased the burden upon Merchandize, and now Tonnage & Poundage, old and new impositions are all taken by Prerogative, without any grant in Parliament, or authoritie of law, as we conceive, from whence divers inconveniences and mischiefes are produced.

New burdens since the last Parliaments.

Divers mischiefes from these grievances.

1 The danger of the president, that a judgement in one Court, and in one case, is made binding to all the Kingdome.

The Kingdom bound by one private case.

2 Mens goods are seized, their legall suits are stopped, and justice denyed to those, that desire to take the benefit of the Law.

Interruption of justice.

3 The great summs of money received upon these impositions, intended for the guard of the Seas, claimed and defended upon no ground, but of publike trust, for protection of Merchants, and defence of the ports, are dispersed to other uses, and a new taxe raised for the same purposes.

Misimployment of the summes received.

4 These burdens are so excessive, that trade is thereby very much hindered, the commodities of our own, groweth extreamly abased, and those imported

The burdens excessive.

much inhaunsed, all which lies not upon the Merchant alone, but upon the generalitie of the subject, and by this means the stock of the Kingdome is much diminisht, our exportation being lesse profitable, and our importation more chargeable. And if the warrs and troubles in the neighbour parts had not brought almost the whole streame of Trade into this Kingdome, we should have found many more prejudiciall effects of these impositions, long before this time, than yet we have done; especially they have beene insupportable to the poore plantations, whither many of his Majesties subjects have beene transported, in divers parts of the Continent, and Islands of *America*, being a designe tending to the honour of the Kingdome, and the inlargement of his Majesties dominions: The adventurers in this noble worke, have for the most part, no other support but Tobacco, upon which, such a heavie rate is set, that the King receives twice as much, as the true value of the commoditie to the owner.

To the American plantations especially.

5 Whereas these great burdens have caused divers Merchants to apply themselves to a way of traffique abroad by transporting goods from one Countrey to another, without bringing them home into England. It hath beene lately endeavoured to set an Imposition upon this trade: so as the King, will have a dutie out of those commodities which never came within his dominions, to the great descouragement of such active and industrious men.

Impositions upon trade intercoursorie.

The next generall head of Civill grievances, was inforcing men to compound for Knighthood, which though it may seeme past, because it is divers yeares since it was used, yet upon the same grounds the King may renew it, as often as he pleaseth, for the com-

Compositions for Knighthood.

composition looks backward, and the offence continuing, is subject to a new fine. The state of that busineſſe, he layed downe thus:

Heretofore when the ſervices due by tenure, were taken in kind, it were fit there ſhould be ſome way of tryall, and approbation of thoſe, that were bound to ſuch ſervices. Therefore it was ordained, that ſuch as were to doe Knights ſervices, after they came of age, and had poſſeſſion of their lands, and ſhould bee made Knights, that is, publikely declared, to bee fit for that ſervice, divers ceremoniss and ſolemnities were in uſe for this purpoſe; and if by the parties, neglect this was not done, he was punishable by fine: there being in thoſe times an ordinary and open way to get Knighthood, for thoſe who were borne to it. The Originall ground of the charge.

Although the uſe of this hath for diverſ ages been diſcontinued, yet there have paſt very few Kings, under whom there hath not been a generall Summons, requiring thoſe who had lands of ſuch value as the law preſcribes, to appeare at the Coronation, or ſome other great ſolemnitie, and to bee Knighted, and yet nothing intended but the getting of ſome ſmall fines: So as this grievante is not altogether new in the kind, though it bee new in the manner, and in the exceſſe of it, and that in divers reſpects. An old grievance in the kind, New in the manner and exceſſe, in

1 Firſt, It hath beene extended beyond all intention of, and colour of law, not onely Inneholders, but likewiſe Leaſe-holders, Copy-holders, Merchants and others, ſcarce any man free from it. Reſpect of

2 The Fines have beene immoderate, far beyond the proportion of former times. The generality

3 The proceedings have been without any example, preſident, or rule of juſtice: for though thoſe Greatneſſe of fines.

that

Multiplication of distresses & issues,

that were summoned did appeare, yet distresses infinite were made out against them, and issues increased and multiplyed, and no way open to discharge those issues, by plea or otherwise, but onely by compounding with the Commissioners at their owne pleasure.

Monopolies introduced by the Sope patent undertaken by papists.

3 The third was, The great Inundation of Monopolies, whereby heavie burthens are laid, not only upon forraigne, but also Native commodities. These began in the Sope-Patent, the principall undertakers in this, were divers popish Recusants, men of estate and qualitie, such as in likelyhood did not only aime at their private gaine, but that by this open breach of Law, the King and his people might bee more fully divided, and the wayes of Parliament men more throughly obstructed. Amongst the infinite inconveniences and mischiefes which this did produce, these few may bee observed.

Full of mischiefe.

1 The price of commodities increast and goodnes abated.

1 The impairing the goodnesse, and inhauncing the price of most of the Commodities and Manufactures of the Realme, yea of those, who are of most necessarie and common use, as Salt, Sope, Beere, Coles, and infinite others.

Restraint of trade.

2 That under colour of Licences, Trades, and Manufactures are restrained to a few hands, and many of the Subjects deprived of their ordinary way of livelyhood.

3 That upon such illegall grantes, a great number

ber of persons had beene unjustly vexed by Pursevants, Imprisonments, attendance upon the Councell Table, seisure of goods, and many other wayes.

Illegall imprisonments and vexations.

4 The fourth, that great and unparalleld grievance of the Shipmoney, which though it may seeme to have more warrant of Law than the rest, because there hath a judgement past for it, yet in truth it is thereby aggravated, if it bee considered, that that judgement is founded upon the naked opinion of some Iudges, without any written law, without any custome, or authoritie of Law bookes, yea without any one president for it. Many expresse lawes, many declarations in Parliaments, and the constant judgment and practice of all times being against it, yea in the nature of it, it will be found to be disproportionable to the case of necessitie which is prerended to be the ground of it.

Shipmoney.

Aggravated, not supported by the judgement.

Which is not grounded upon any law, custome president or authoritie of law bookes.

Necessitie excludes all formalities and solemnities, it is no time then to make levies and taxes, to build and prepare Ships, every mans person, every mans Ships are to be imployed for the resisting of an invading enemie: the right on the subjects part was so cleare, and the pretences against it so weake, that hee thought no man would venture his reputation or conscience in the defence of that judgement, being so contrary to the grounds of the Law, to the practice of former times, and so inconsistent in it selfe.

The course unproper for a case of necessitie.

Abounding in varietie of Mischiefes.

amongst many inconveniences and obliquities of this grievance he noted these.

The Generall extent and remediesse condition.

1 That it extendeth to all persons, and to all times, it subjected our goods to distresse, and our persons to imprisonment, and the causes of it being secret and invisible, referred to his Majesties brest alone, the subject was left without possibilitie of exception, and relieſe.

Arbitrary proportion.

2 That there was no rules or limits for the proportion, so that no man knew what estate he had, or how to order his course or expences.

Imposed by writ disposed by instructions.

3 That it was taken out of the Subjects purse, by a writt, and brought into the Kings Coffers by instructions from the Lords of his Most honourable privie Councell. In the legall defence of it, the Writ only did appeare, of the instructions, there was no notice taken, which yet in the reall execution of it, were most predominant. It carryes the face of service in the Writ, and of Revenue in the instructions, if this way had not beene found to turne the Ship, into money, it would easily have appeared how incompatible this service is with the office of a Sheriffe, in the inland Counties, and how incongruous and inconvenient for the inhabitants. The law in a body politike is like nature, which alwayes prepareth and disposeth proper and fit instruments and Organes, for every naturall operation

Improper for the Sheriffes.

Unprovided for by law.

peration, if the Law had intended any such charge as this, there ſhould have beene certaine rules, ſuitable meanes and courſes, for the leviing and managing of it.

5 The fift was the Inlargement of the Forreſts beyond the bounds and perambulations appointed and eſtabliſhed by act of Parliament, twenty ſeven, and twenty eight *Edward* the *firſt*, and that this is done upon the ſame reaſons and exceptions which had beene on the Kings part propounded, and by the Commons anſwered in Parliament, not long after that eſtabliſhment. It is not unknowne to many in this Houſe, that thoſe perambulations were the fruit and effect of that famous Charter, which is called *Charta de forreſta*, whereby many tumults, troubles, and diſcontents had beene taken away, and compoſed betweene the King and his ſubjects, and it is full of danger, that by reviving thoſe old Queſtions wee may fall into the like diſtempers.

Inlargemene of Forreſts.

Againſt expreſſe Statutes.

Charta de forreſta made uſeleſſe.

He ſaid, that hereby no blame could fall upon that great Lord, who is now Iuſtice in Eyre, and in whoſe name theſe things were acted, it could not be expected that he ſhould take notice of the lawes and cuſtomes of the realme, therefore he was carefull to procure the aſſiſtance and direction of the Iudges, and if any thing were done againſt law, it was for them to anſwer, and not for him.

Iuſtice in Eyer cleared.

The Anſwer lies upon the Iudges.

Particular obliquities. The particular irregularities and obliquities of this buſineſſe were theſe.

Surreptitious proceedings. 1 The ſurreptitious procuring a verdict for the King, without giving notice to the Countrey, whereby they might be prepared to give in evidence for their owne intereſt and indemnitie; as was done in *Eſſex*.

A judgement pretended. 2 Whereas the Iudges in the Iuſtice ſeat in *Eſſex* were conſulted with, about the entry of the former verdict, and delivered their opinion touching that alone, without medling with the point of right, this opinion was after inforced in other Counties, as if it had beene a judgement upon the matter, and the Councell for the Countie diſcountenanced in ſpeaking, becauſe it was ſaid to be already adjudged.

The Subject diſturbed. 3 The inheritance of divers of the Subjects have beene hereupon diſturbed, after the quiet poſſeſſion of three or foure hundred yeares, and a way open for the diſturbance of many others.

Inforced to compound for great fines. 4 Great ſummes of money have been drawn from ſuch as have lands within theſe pretended bounds, and thoſe who have forborne to make compoſition, have beene threatned with the execution of the forreſt lawes.

5 The

5 The fifth, was the selling of Nusances, or at least, some such things as are supposed to bee Nusances. Selling of Nusances.

The King as Father of the Common wealth is to take care of the publike Commodities, and advantages of his subjects, as Rivers, Highways, Common Sewers, and such like, and is to remove whatsoever is prejudiciall to them, and for the tryall of those, there are legall and ordinarie writs, of *Ad quod dammum*: but of late a new and extra judiciall way hath beene taken, of declaring matters to be Nusances, and divers have thereupon beene questioned, and if they would not compound they have beene fined; If they doe compound, that which was first prosecuted as a common Nusance, is taken into the Kings protection, and allowed to stand, and having yeelded the King Money, no further care is taken, whether it bee good or bad for the common wealth. By this a very great and publike trust is either broken or abused: if the matter compounded for be truly a Nusance, then it is broken to the hurt of the people: if it bee not a Nusance, then is it abused to the hurt of the partie: the particulars mentioned, were: The legall tryall of Nusances omitted. A new extrajudiciall way practised. Compositions inforced, and A publike trust broken or abused. The particulars.

1 The Commission for buildings in and about this Towne, which heretofore hath beene presented by this House as a grievance in K. *James* his time, but now of late the execution hath beene much more frequent and prejudiciall than it was before. Commission for building.

2 Com-

Depopulations

Secondly, Commission for Depopulations, which began some few yeares since, and is still in hot prosecution.

The severall mischiefes of both.

By both these, the subject is restrained from disposing of his owne, some have beene commanded to demolish their houses, others have beene forbiddden to build, other after great trouble and vexation, have beene forced to redeeme their peace with large summes, and they still remaine by law, as lyable to a new question as before, for it is agreed by all, that the King cannot licence a common Nusance: and although in deed these are not such, yet it is a matter of very ill consequence, that under that name they should be compounded for, and may in ill times bee made a president for the Kings of this Realme to claime a power of licencing such things as are Nusances indeed.

Militarie charges.

The seventh, The Militarie charges laid upon the severall Counties of the Kingdome, sometimes by warrant under his Majesties signature, sometime by Letters from the Councell Table, and sometimes (such hath been the boldnesse and presumption of some men) by the order of the Lord Leivtenants, or Deputie Lievtenant alone.

A growing evill.

This is a growing evill still multiplying and increasing from a few particulars to many, from small summes to great: it began first to be practised

practiſed as a loane, for ſupply of coat and conduct money, and for this it hath ſome countenance, from the uſe in Queene *Elizabeths* time, when the Lords of the Councell did often deſire the deputie Lievtenants to procure ſo much money to be laid out in the Countrey as the ſervice did require, with a promiſe to pay it againe in *London*; for which purpoſe there was a conſtant warrant in the Exchequer. This (he ſaid) was the practice in her time, and in a great part of King *Iames's*, and the payments ſo certaine, as it was little otherwiſe, than takingup money upon bils of Exchange; at this day they follow theſe preſidents, in the manner of the demand (for it is with a promiſe of a repayment) but not in the certaintie and readineſſe of ſatisfaction.

Coat and conduct money how practiſed by Q. Eliz.

The firſt particular brought into a tax (as he thought) was the Muſter Maſters wages, at which many repined, but being for ſmall ſumms it began to bee generally digeſted: yet in the laſt Parliament, this Houſe was ſenſible of it, and to avoid the danger of the preſident that the ſubjects ſhould be forced to make any payments without conſent in Parliament, they thought upon a Bill that may bee a rule to the Lievtenants what to demand, and to the people what to pay. But the hopes of this Bill were daſht in the diſſolution of that Parliament. Now of late divers other particulars are growing into practice,

Muſter maſters wages.

dice, which make the grievance much more heavie: those mentioned were these,

Pressing. 1 Pressing men against their will, and forcing them which are rich or unwilling to serve to find others in their place.

Publike Magazins. 2 The provision of publike Magazines for powder, and other Munition, Spades and Pickaxes.

Salary of officers. 3 The Salarie of Divers officers besides the Muster-Master.

Cart-horses and Carts. 4 The buying of Carthorses and Carts, and hiring of Carts for Cariages.

Extrajudiciall declarations of Iudges. The eighth, The extrajudiciall declarations of Iudges, whereby the subjects have beene bound in matters of great importance without heareing of Councell or Argument on their part, and are left without legall remedie, by writ of errour or otherwise: he remembred the expression used by another member of the house of a teeming Parliament: this (he said) was a teeming grievance: from hence have issued most of the great grievances now in being, The Ship-money, the pretended Nusances already mentioned, and some others which have not yet been toucht upon: Especially that concerning the proceedings of Ecclesiasticall Courts.

A teeming grievance.

9 The

The ninth, That the authoritie and wisedome of the Councell Table, have beene applyed to the contriving and managing of severall Monopolies, and other great grievances (he said) The institution of the Councell Table, was much for the advantage and securitie of the subject, to avoid surreptions and precipitate Courts in the great affaires of the Kingdome: That by law an oath is to be taken by all those of the Kings Counsell, in which amongst other things it is expreſt, that they should for no cause forbeare to doe right, to all the Kings people, and if such an oath be not now taken, he wisht it might be brought into use againe.

Monopolies countenanced by the Councell Table.

The ancient oath of councellours.

It was the honour of that Table, to bee as it were incorporated with the King, his royall power and greatnesse did shine most conspicuously in their actions, and in their Councels: Wee have heard of Projectors and Referees heretofore and what opinion and relish they have found in this House is not unknown. But that any such thing should be acted by the Councell Table, which might give strength and countenance to Monopolies, as it hath not beene used till now of late, so it cannot be apprehended without the just griefe of the honest subject, and incouragement of those who are ill affected.

Their trust & dignity.

Heremembred that in *Tertio* of King.

Much diminished and debased.

a Noble Gentleman, then a very worthy member of the Commons House, now a great Lord and eminent Councellour of State, did in this place declare this opinion concerning that clause used to bee inserted in Patents of Monopolie, whereby Iustices of peace are commanded to assist the Patentees, this hee urged as a great dishonour to those Gentlemen, which are in commission to bee so meanely imployed, with much more reason, may wee in jealousie of the honour of the Councell Table, humbly desire that their precious time, their great abilities designed, to the publike care and service of the Kingdome, may not receive such a staine, such a diminution, as to be imployed in matters of so ill report, in the estimation of the law: of so ill effect, in the apprehension of the people.

By being imployed in matters of such ill report.

Star-chamber a great Councell.

The tenth, The high Court of Starchamber, which some thinke succeed that, which in the Parliament Rolles is called, *Magnum Concilium*, and to which, Parliaments were wont so often to referre those important matters, which they had no time to determine. This Court, which in the late restauration or erection of it, in *Henry* the seventh's time, was especially designed to restraine the oppression of great men, and to remove the obstructions and impediments of the law. This which is both a Court of Councell and a Court of Iustice, hath beene made an instrument of erecting and defending Monopo-

A court erected against oppression.

lies

lies and other grievances; to set a face of right upon those things, which are unlawfull in their owne nature: a face of publike good, upon such as are pernicious in their use and execution. The Soape-patent, and divers other evidences thereof may be given, so well knowne, as not to require a particular relation: And as if this were not enough, this Court hath lately intermedled with the Ship money, divers Sheriffes have beene questioned, for not levying and collecting such summes, as their Counties have beene charged with, and if this beginning bee not prevented, the Starre-chamber will become a Court of Revenue, and it shall bee made crime not to collect or pay such taxes, as the State shall require.

Applyed the establishing of Monopolies.

To the recovery of Ship-money.

The eleventh, Hee said, hee was gone very high, yet hee must goe a little higher: that great and most eminent power of the King of making Edicts and Proclamations, which are said to bee *Leges Temporis*, with which our Princes have used to encounter with sudden and unexpected danger, as would not indure so much delay, as assembling the great Councell of the Kingdome. This which is one of the most glorious beames of Majestie, most rigorous in commanding reverence, and subjection, to our unspeakable griefe, hath been often exercised for the enjoyning and maintaining sundry Monopolies, and other grants,

The Kings edicts and Proclamations.

For the erecting of Monopolies.

exceeding burdensome, and prejudiciall to the people

The word and truth of God.

The twelfth. Although he was come as high as he could upon earth, yet the presumption of evill men did leade him one step higher, even as high as Heaven, as high as the Throne of God. It was now, he said, growne common, for ambitious and corrupt men of the Clergie, to abuse the truth of God, and the bond of conscience, preaching downe the lawes and liberties of the Kingdome, pretending Divine authoritie, for an absolute power in the King, to doe what hee would with our persons, and goods, this hath beene often published in Sermons, and Printed bookes, and is now the high way to preferment.

Pretended for the absolute power of Kings.

The offence of D. *Mannaing.*

The last Parliament, wee had a sentence for an offence of this kind, against one *Mannering*, then a Doctor, now a Bishop, concerning whom (hee said) hee would say no more but this, that when hee saw him at his Barre, in the most humble dejected posture, whatever hee observed, hee thought hee would not so soone have leapt into a Bishops chaire, but his successe hath emboldened others, therefore (hee said) this may well bee noted as a double grievance, that such doctrine should bee allowed, that such men should bee preferred, yea as a roote of grievances whereby they indeavour

Now practised by others.

to

to corrupt the Kings conſcience, and as much as in them lyes, to deprive the people of that Royall protection, to which his Majeſtie is bound by the fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome, and his owne perſonall oath. To the great hurt and grievance of the people.

The thirteenth: The long intermiſſion of Parliaments, contrary to the two ſtatutes yet in force, whereby it is appointed there ſhould bee Parliaments once a yeare, at the leaſt, and moſt contrary to the publike good of the Kingdome, for this being well remedied would produce remedies for all the reſt. The Intermiſſion of Parliaments.

Having put through the ſeverall heads of grievances, hee came to the ſecond maine branch, propounded in the beginning. That the diſorders from whence theſe grievances iſſued, were as hurtfull to the King, as to the people, of which hee gave divers reaſons. The ſubjects grievances hurtfull to the King.

1 The interruption of the ſweet communion which ought to bee betwixt the King and his people, in matters of grace and ſupply. They have need of him by his generall pardon, to be ſecured from projectors, and informers, to bee freed from obſolete lawes, from the ſubtle devices of ſuch as ſeeke to reſtraine the Prerogative to their owne private advantage, and the publike hurt; and he hath need of them for counſell and ſuport, in great and extraor- Bb interrupt their communion.

dinary occasions. This mutuall intercourse would so weane the affections and interests of his subjects, into his actions and designes, that their wealth and their persons would bee his, his owne estate would bee managed to most advantage, and publike undertakings would bee prosecuted at the charge and adventure of the subject: The victorious attempts in Queene *Elizabeths* time upon *Portugall*, *Spaine*, and the *Indies*, were for the greatest part, made upon the subjects purses, and not upon the Queenes, though the honour and profit of the successe, did most accrew to her.

By domesticall breaches and discontentments.

2 Those often breaches and discontentments betwixt the King and the people, are very apt to diminish his reputation abroad, and disadvantage his treaties and alliances.

By weakning his partie abroad.

3 The apprehension of the favour and incouragement given to Poperie, hath much weakned his Majesties partie beyond the Sea, and impared that advantage which Queene *Elizabeth* and his Royall Father have heretofore made, of being heads of the Protestant union.

By forcing his subjects to leave the Kingdome.

4 The innovations in Religion and rigour of Ecclesiasticall Courts, have forced a great many of his Majesties subjects to forsake the land, where

whereby not onely their persons, and their posteritie, but their wealth, and their industrey are lost to this Kingdome, much to the demolishing of his Majesties Customes and Subsidies. Amongst other inconveniences, this was especially to be observed, that divers Clothiers driven out of the Countrey, had set up the manufacture of Cloth beyond the Seas, whereby this State is like to suffer much by abatement of the price of Woolls, and by want of imployment for the poore, both which likewise tend to his Majesties particular losse.

5 It puts the King upon unproper wayes of supply, which being not warranted by law, are much more burdensome to the subject, than advantagious to his Majestie. In *France* not long since, upon a survey of the Kings Revenue, it was found that two parts in three, never came to the Kings purse, but were diverted to the profit of the officers or ministers of the Crowne, and it was thought a very good service and reformation, to reduce two parts to the King, leaving still a third part to the Instruments as were imployed about getting it in. It may well bee doubted, that the King may have the like or worse successe in England: which appeares already in some particulars.

By unproper wayes of supply.

The

The King hath reſerved upon this Monopoly of Wines, Thirty thouſand Pound Rent a yeere, the Vintner payes Fourty Shillings a Tun, which comes to Ninety thouſand pounds: the price upon the Subject by retaile, is increaſed Two pence a Quart, which comes to Eight pound a Tun, and for Fourty five thouſand Tun brought in yeerly, amounts to Three hundred ſixty thouſand pounds; which is Three hundred and Thirty thouſand pounds loſſe to the Kingdome, above the Kings Rent; other Monopolies, as that of Soape, have beene very chargable to the Kingdome, and brought very little Treaſure into his Majeſties Coffers.

The law provides for that revenue of the Crowne; which is Naturall and proper, that it may be ſafely collected, and brought to Account, but this illegall Revenue, being without any ſuch proviſion, is left to hazard, and much uncertainty, either not to be reteined, or not duly accounted of.

By weakening the induſtry and courage of the ſubject.

6 It is apt to weaken the Induſtrie and Courage of the Subject, if they be left uncertaine: whether they ſhall reape the benefit of their owne paines, and hazard thoſe who are brought into the Condition of ſlaves, will eaſily grow to a ſlaviſh diſpoſition, who having nothing to looſe, doe commonly ſhew more boldneſſe in diſturbing, than in defending a Kingdome.

7 Theſe

7 These irregular Courses doe give opportunitie to all Instruments, to insinuate themselves into the Kings service, for we cannot but observe, that if a man be officious in furthering their inordinate burdens of Ship money, Monopolies, and the like: it varnisheth over all other faults, and makes him fit both for Employment and Preferment. So that out of their offices, they are furnisht for vast expences, purchases, Buildings, and the King loseth often more in desperate debts at their deaths, than he got by them all their lives, whether this were not lately verified in a Westerne man, much imployed while he lived; he leaves to the Knowledge of those who were acquainted with his Course, and he doubted not but others might be found in the like case.

By introducing ill Instruments into the Kings service.

Those that are Affected to Popery, to prophanesse, and to superstitious innovations, in matters of Religion. All Kinde of Spies and intelligencers have meanes to be countenanced and trusted if they will be but zealous in those kinde of services, which how much it detracts from his Majestie, in honour, in profit and prosperitie of publike affaires, lyes open to every mans apprehension, and from those reasons or some of them, he thought it proceeded that through the whole course of the English story it might be observed, that those Kings who had been most respectfull of the lawes, had

beene most eminent in Greatnesse, in Glory and successe, both at home and abroad; and that others, who thought to subsist by the violation of them, did often fall into a state of weakenesse, povertie, and Infortunitie.

By diverting the Kings thoughts from divers great and hopefull enterprises.

8. The differences and discontents betwixt his Majestie, and the people at home, have in all likelyhood diverted his Royall thoughts and Counsells from those great opportunities which he might have, not only to weaken the House of *Austria*, to restore the *Palatinate*, but to gaine to himself a higher pitch of power and greatnesse, than any of his Ancestors.

It is not unknowne how weake, how distracted, how discontented the *Spanish* Colonies are in the *West Indies*. There are now in those parts in New *England*, *Virginia*, and the *Caribe-Islands*, and in the *Bermudes*, at least Sixty thousand able persons of this Nation, many of them well armed, and their bodies seasoned to that Climate, which with a very small charge might be set downe in some advantagious parts of these pleasant, rich and fruitfull Countreys, and easily make his Majestie Master of all that treasure, which not onely foments the Warre, but is the great support of Popery in all parts of Christendome.

By producing many chargeable distempers.

9. Lastly, These courses are apt to produce such

ſuch diſtempers in the ſtate, as may not be ſet-
led without great charge and loſſe, by which
means more may be conſumed in a few months
than ſhall be gotten by ſuch wayes in many
yeeres.

Having paſt through the two firſt generall Branches, he was now come to the third, wherein he was to ſet downe the wayes of healing and removing thoſe grievances, which conſiſted of two maine Branches, firſt in declaring the law where it was doubtfull: The ſecond in better proviſion for the execution of law, where it is cleere: But (hee ſaid) becauſe he had already ſpent much time, and began to finde ſome confuſion in his Memory, he would referre the particulars to another opportunity, and for the preſent onely move that, which was generall to all, and would give waight and Advantage to all the particular wayes of Redreſſe; that is, that wee ſhould ſpeedily deſire a Conference with the Lords, and acquaint them with the Miſerable Condition wherein wee finde the Church and State, and as we have already reſolved to joyn in a religious ſeeking of God, in a day of faſt and humiliation, ſo to intreat them to concurre with us, in a Parliamentary courſe, of petitioning the King as there ſhould bee occaſion, and in ſearching out the cauſes and remedies of theſe many inſupportable grievances under which

The wayes of remedyinge their grievances.

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we lye, that so by the united wisedome and authoritie of both Houses, such courses may be taken, as (through Gods blessing) may advance the honour and Greatnesse of his Majestie, and restore and establish the peace and prosperitie of the Kingdome.

This (he said) Wee might undertake with comfort and hope of successe: for though there be a darknesse upon the land, a thick and palpable darknesse, like that of *Egypt*; yet as in that, the Sunne had not lost his light, nor the *Egyptians* their sight, the interruption was onely in the *Medium*, so with us there is stil (God be thanked) light in the Sun, Wisedome and Justice in his Majestie to dispell this darknesse, and in us there remaines a visual faculty, whereby wee are inabled to apprehend, and moved to desire light, and when we shall be blessed in the enjoying of it, we shall thereby be incited to returne his Majestie such thanks, as may make it shine more cleerly in the world, to his owne glory, and in the hearts of his people, to their joy and contentment.

FINIS.

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